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This report contains an assessment of the impact of Upward Bound programs on secondary schools and communities. The findings are based on a systematic study and analysis of the relationships observed among the universities, secondary schools, and communities involved in Upward Bound. The study was carried out in 16 selected cities across the nation to evaluate a variety of different programs in an attempt to determine the effect Upward Bound has had nationally. The recommendations in this report are aimed at providing constructive guidelines for the improvement of the program. This study indicates that Upward Bound has had a significant impact on the student participants, but has had a minimal effect on the internal operations of the secondary schools, the attitudes of the faculties, and the reactions of the local communities. Many aspects of the administration and operation of local programs need improvement. The public relations role of local project directors should be broadened. Above all, it is essential that the program be expanded to include larger numbers of high school students if any tangential effect is to be realized. (Author/KJ)

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UPWARD BOUND

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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UPWARD BOUND

A STUDY OF IMPACT ON THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

January 1969

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January 1, 1969

Dr. Thomas A. Billings
Director, Project Upward Bound
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20506

Dear Dr. Billings:

We are pleased to submit this report of our assessment of the impact of Upward Bound on secondary schools and communities. This study was conducted under contract with the Office of Economic Opportunity and in cooperation with Educational Associates, Inc., consultants to OEO.

The findings are based on a systematic study and analysis of the relationships observed among the universities, secondary schools, and communities involved in Upward Bound. The study was carried out in 16 selected cities across the nation so that we might evaluate a variety of different programs in an attempt to determine the effect Upward Bound has had nationally.

The recommendations in this report are aimed at providing constructive guidelines for the improvement of the program. This study indicates that Upward Bound has had a significant impact on the student participants, but has had a minimal effect on the internal operations of the secondary schools, the attitudes of the faculty, and the reactions of the local communities. Many aspects of the administration and operation of local programs need improvement. The public relations role of local project directors should be broadened. Above all, it is essential that the program be expanded to include larger numbers of high school students if any tangential effect is to be realized.

Throughout this study, local OEO officials and Upward Bound project directors have been most helpful in arranging introductions to key people in the communities. We wish to express our appreciation to them and to other officials who assisted us in this study.

Sincerely,

Arthur Greenleigh

Arthur Greenleigh
President

AG:pn

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study relied heavily upon the cooperation of dozens of individuals in the 16 cities visited. It is not possible to give the individual recognition that is due all of them.

We wish to express our appreciation to the 447 persons who were directly involved in this study providing valuable information through interviews, and the administrators and staff members at the 95 high schools who responded to our questionnaire.

We also wish to express our gratitude to the special consultants who assisted in the early planning of the study and in the development of guidelines for the interview schedules:

Dr. Glen Goerke
Assistant Vice-Chancellor for Higher Education
Florida Board of Regents for Continuing Education

Dr. O. William Perlmutter
Dean of Arts and Sciences
New York State University at Albany

We also wish to acknowledge the contributions made by the following members of the staff of Greenleigh Associates who served as members of the study team:

Harry Van Houten	Project Director
Mrs. Frances Larson	Senior Consultant
Robert Washington	Senior Consultant
Anderson Williams	Senior Consultant
Miss Andrea Crease	Research Assistant
Mrs. Rita Smith	Research Assistant

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Finally, we would like to express our appreciation for the wholehearted cooperation of Dr. Thomas Billings, Director of Project Upward Bound and of Mr. Charles Cole and the members of the field staff of Educational Associates, Inc.

Hazel S. McCalley, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President and
Officer in Charge

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. Background

To assess the impact of Upward Bound programs on secondary schools and on their communities in relation to higher education for the disadvantaged, the Office of Economic Opportunity contracted with Greenleigh Associates, Inc. to study 16 cities in depth and to survey 207 others by questionnaire.

A number of factors were considered in selecting the cities to be studied. Upward Bound programs are grouped under the administrative regions of the Office of Economic Opportunity. At least one city was chosen in each of these seven regions. In each city, those high schools with the largest Upward Bound population were chosen for specific study. Rural as well as urban schools were included as were two programs involving a large number of American Indians and one involving Mexican-Americans because these groups have special problems. The final selection was made jointly by Greenleigh Associates, Inc. and Educational Associates, Inc., consultants to the OEO. EAI also provided certain supportive data during the course of the study.

This report, resulting from the study, includes an evaluation of changes made in the selected communities and their secondary schools as a result of the Upward Bound program and of its effect on the interrelations among high schools, universities, and community groups.

B. Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of this study were as follows:

1. To assess the impact of the Upward Bound program on the educational policies and practices of secondary schools and local communities with respect to students from low-income families who hope to attend college.

2. To ascertain the impact on the secondary school systems in such areas as curriculum, administration, guidance and counseling, libraries, financial assistance to students, research, parent-teacher groups, teaching methods, and teacher training.

3. To determine the effectiveness and impact of communication between the institutions of higher education and the secondary

schools in which Upward Bound students were enrolled; between the secondary schools and the community; among the various secondary schools involved in Upward Bound; between Upward Bound and the secondary schools; and between the secondary schools and community action agencies.

4. To assess the impact on the community in terms of its knowledge, involvement, and support for the program, its attitude toward educational opportunities for the disadvantaged, and its participation in public advisory committees.

C. Method

This report was prepared after extensive field work, recording, and analysis of data on operations and performances related to the following 16 areas and 36 secondary schools.

Boston, Massachusetts

South Boston High School (Boston)
Burke High School (Boston)
Chelsea High School (Chelsea)
Cambridge High School (Cambridge)

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Westinghouse High School (Pittsburgh)
Fifth Avenue High School (Pittsburgh)

Nashville, Tennessee

Pearl High School (Nashville)
Cameron High School (Nashville)

Detroit, Michigan

Northeastern High School (Detroit)
Northwestern High School (Detroit)

St. Louis, Missouri

Beaumont High School (St. Louis)
Vashon High School (St. Louis)
Lincoln High School (St. Louis)
Wellston High School (Wellston)

Hartford, Connecticut

Hartford High School (Hartford)
Middletown High School (Middletown)

Morehead, Kentucky

Sandy Hook High School (Sandy Hook)
Morgan County High School (West Liberty)

Tampa, Florida

Gibbs High School (St. Petersburg)
Lakewood High School (St. Petersburg)
Blake High School (Tampa)
King High School (Tampa)

Cleveland, Ohio

East High School (Cleveland)
East Technical High School (Cleveland)

Little Rock, Arkansas

Horace Mann High School (Little Rock)
Viola Harris High School (North Little Rock)

New Orleans, Louisiana

Washington High School
(New Orleans)
Drew High School (Eunice)

Billings, Montana

Harlem High School
(Harlem, Montana)

Oakland, California

Fremont High School (Oakland)
McClymonds High School
(Oakland)

El Paso, Texas

Canutillo High School, Canutillo
(El Paso County)

Phoenix, Arizona

Phoenix Union High School (Phoenix)
Phoenix Indian High School (Phoenix)

Los Angeles, California

Roosevelt High School (Los Angeles)
Jordan High School (Los Angeles)

Although these schools were chosen because they had the most Upward Bound participants in the areas designated for study, the largest portion of total population of a single participating high school was 6 percent and, in some schools, the rate of participation was as low as 1 percent.

It has been estimated that approximately 600,000, or 4 percent, of the nation's more than 13 million secondary school students would be eligible to receive Upward Bound benefits. However, in 1968, only 25,000, or 4 percent of that 4 percent, were enrolled in Upward Bound.

This study was carried out in the following three phases:

Phase 1 - Planning and Development

The Greenleigh Associates staff first reviewed the criteria, program objectives, and policy statements concerning the establishment of Upward Bound and its operation. Staff members also studied information and statistics which were made available through Educational Associates, Inc., and held a number of preliminary meetings with key Upward Bound personnel in the Office of Economic Opportunity. The study director attended the fall meeting of the National High School Principals' Advisory Council. On the basis of these materials and preliminary meetings, the study team developed a specialized evaluation design and a number of research instruments to be used in the field work, including a series of interview schedules for secondary school personnel, university personnel, high school students, and community leaders. In addition, a questionnaire was designed and mailed to principals in 207 secondary schools throughout the United States.

Phase 2 - Field Work

During the second phase of the study, the 16 metropolitan areas were studied for approximately two weeks each by field analysts from the Greenleigh staff who visited the 36 schools and conducted interviews with the following people in each community:

1. The Upward Bound Project Director and other members of the local program staff.
2. The principal and other key administrators from at least two secondary schools that had students participating in the local Upward Bound program.
3. Guidance counselors, faculty members, and supervisors who had contact with Upward Bound students in these high schools.
4. A small sample of Upward Bound students enrolled in the selected secondary schools.
5. Selected university staff members who had participated in the Upward Bound summer program.
6. A number of community leaders, including public education officials, community action officials, members of Upward Bound advisory groups, and leaders of local neighborhood groups.

Following is a breakdown, by category, of the 447 interviews completed:

Secondary school personnel	132
University personnel	91
Students	158
Community leaders	66

Phase 3 - Study of Written Materials

In addition to the information assembled in the interviews, other reports and information relevant to the impact of Upward Bound on secondary schools and communities were studied. Interview data were supplemented by information gathered from the mailed questionnaires returned by the 95 (of 207) high schools listed in the Appendix.

This report is a synthesis of the data collected in Phases 1, 2, and 3, and the reactions of the study team to the communities involved. The effect of living in the various communities for a total of 35 weeks added to the incisiveness with which the study team could assess the impact of this program.

II. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In assessing the impact of Upward Bound the study staff concluded that the program has had a significant impact on the students involved but a minimal effect on the secondary schools and their faculties. There is little evidence of impact on the communities hosting the 16 programs and their 36 high schools.

The inability of the various groups involved in the program to communicate effectively was found to be a significant factor in reducing the impact on the schools and the community. The small number of students participating from any given high school and, in fact, participating in the total program also decreases the potential for impact. However, the most important reason for the lack of impact is the perception that traditional educators have of the Upward Bound program and its sponsoring agency, the Office of Economic Opportunity. They are suspicious of the policies of Upward Bound and the practices of many of the teachers involved in the program, and generally they feel that the program repudiates the long-standing philosophy and pedagogy of the educational establishment. This has obviated meaningful working relationships between Upward Bound and the public school systems.

In order to maximize the potential for positive impact, Upward Bound programs should insist on the following:

1. A high degree of personal contact among Upward Bound personnel, secondary school personnel, and leaders in the community is essential. Success in all projects studied was directly related to the quality of these interrelationships.

2. All persons involved in the program must demonstrate a commitment to improve the quality of their educational effort. This must be the number one priority, particularly of the professional educators in the schools and of the members of the Boards of Education. This commitment is demonstrated by the degree to which Board members, administrators, and teachers are willing to fight for necessary improvements in public school programs including a modernized, relevant curriculum; meaningful inservice training programs; up-to-date textbooks; a clean, well-maintained physical plant; and supportive services both for students requiring remedial work and for exceptional students seeking academic challenges beyond the scope of regular classroom work.

Demonstration of this commitment often requires an increased financial commitment from the community and its officials. These policymakers have not taken the initiative in these areas. They must be pressured and influenced by the whole educational community. Commitment to quality education is only demonstrated when rhetoric is translated into action.

3. School officials must be readily available to parents, students, teachers and Upward Bound staff. Where lines of communication were completely open the impact of Upward Bound increased noticeably. When a parent feels she must see a high school principal or guidance counselor because of a problem which has arisen in school, she cannot be put off, referred to assistants or persons she does not know, or given an appointment several weeks later. If she feels her problem is immediate, she must be able to discuss it immediately.

4. A public attitude of acceptance of responsibility for education from nursery school through the fourth year of college must be encouraged. In one city where maximum impact was approached, this attitude significantly contributed to the development of an efficiently run Upward Bound program, with educational leaders at all levels contributing to its success.

In view of the findings discussed in this study, the following recommendations are made:

1. Upward Bound should be funded on a larger scale to provide additional opportunities for disadvantaged youths.

2. The program should be expanded to provide supportive services to participants in their freshman year at college.

3. Steps should be taken to eliminate the practice of selecting Upward Bound participants from among the better-motivated, higher-achieving members of the high school student body.

4. Steps must be taken to make the operation of local programs conform to the Guidelines.

5. There is an immediate need to develop input and feedback systems between Upward Bound staff members and secondary school personnel.

6. Future Guidelines should urge the inclusion of at least one high school principal and a Board of Education member on each Public Advisory Committee.

7. The responsibilities and the limits of activity of PAC members need to be more clearly defined in the Guidelines.

8. A vigorous public relations campaign should be mounted by project directors nationally.

9. The role of the project director should be redefined to emphasize his potential for leadership both in education of the disadvantaged and in the community at large.

10. A training program for project directors should be established to promote the development of skills and techniques in mobilizing community resources to expand educational opportunities for the disadvantaged.

III. BACKGROUND OF THE UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

In order to examine the goals and the effectiveness of Upward Bound it is necessary to discuss the goals and effectiveness of American education as a whole.

Education in every society is a reflection of the political, social, and cultural attitudes of the community it serves. Thus education varies throughout the United States as the nature of the locality--industrial, business, agricultural, urban, suburban, rural--and its philosophy, varies.

Local communities have clung tenaciously to their rights and responsibilities for controlling the schools. This has made for a wholesome diversity and responsiveness to community needs in some instances, and to narrow, often irrelevant, education in others. The commitment to quality education in any given community can be measured by its willingness to adopt a school budget which provides dedicated teachers, a creative administration, and modern facilities and teaching materials.

National goals, often proclaimed by political and educational leaders, call for equality of opportunity and quality in education. However, the ability of public schools, particularly in urban areas, to meet these goals is being questioned increasingly. Efforts toward integration have been frustrated by racial attitudes, housing patterns, and the high cost of busing.

A growing number of professionals feel that quality education will not be attained in the public schools until there is total reform of the system. The demands, in the large urban school systems, for decentralization and for increased participation by the public in the process of education, are attempts to meet this challenge. The need for all citizens to become involved in the deliberations leading to policy making in the public schools is long overdue. The response of the professional educators has been slow, and one can only hope that they will soon engage in a meaningful dialogue with the public.

American education faces a formidable challenge if it is to prepare students to operate in a society undergoing the rapid changes of the mid-twentieth century. Whereas a high school diploma was obtained by only an elite group at the turn of the century, 14 years of formal education, including 2 years of higher education, is rapidly becoming accepted as the standard needed to meet the demands of today's sophisticated technological society.

As John W. Gardner, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, writes, "A society whose maturing consists simply of acquiring more firmly established ways of doing things is heading toward the graveyard--even if it learns to do these things with greater and greater skill. In the ever-renewing society, what matures is a system or framework within which continuous innovation, renewal and rebirth can occur."[1]

Thus far, it appears that the schools have not led in the social development of the nation. Instead, they have served to pass on, and pass on selectively, the fabric of the past. It is with a view to providing the more flexible framework for innovation to which Mr. Gardner refers, that the Upward Bound program was initiated.

Upward Bound is a precollege preparatory program designed to generate in young people from low-income background and inadequate secondary school preparation the skills and aspirations necessary for success in education beyond high school. It seeks to remedy poor academic preparation and motivation in secondary school and thus increase a youngster's potential for acceptance and success in a college environment.[2]

After the signing of the Economic Opportunity Act in August 1964, the concept of Upward Bound was developed simultaneously at OEO and at a half dozen universities during the spring of 1965. The program was originally conceived as an attempt to motivate capable but bored high school students from low-income families to seek post-secondary school educational opportunities. The original designers of the program recognized that many poor or so-called disruptive students were not receiving adequate teaching or counseling in their secondary school situations and thus were written off as failures. It was also expected that many of these students could improve their skills when given proper stimulus, placed in new educational environment, and instructed by teachers who were committed and who truly cared.

In the summer of 1965, 18 Upward Bound demonstration projects were funded by OEO. These 18 pilot programs enrolled 2,000 students for between 6 and 10 weeks. Courses in English, mathematics, and other subjects were supplemented by a comprehensive guidance and counseling program. Most of the pilot programs were residential which enabled the students to take part in the cultural, social, and recreational activities of the college. In addition, these programs included a number of field trips to museums, art galleries, and theaters.

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[1] John W. Gardner, Self-Renewal, Harper and Row, New York, 1963, p.5.

[2] Office of Economic Opportunity, Upward Bound Policy Guidelines, 1969-70, Washington, D.C., p. 1.

The success of the 1965 pilot projects exceeded all expectations. Tests given before and after the summer showed that participants had made significant gains in reading comprehension and I.Q. scores. Encouraged by this success, a conference of educators experienced in working with disadvantaged youth met in Washington in the fall of 1965 to develop national guidelines for the Upward Bound program. With the distribution of these guidelines, and the favorable publicity that the program received, proposals to conduct programs were received from 292 institutions of higher education during the first few months of 1966.

Within a short time, projects at 218 colleges, universities, junior colleges, and secondary schools were funded for a full 12-month period. These projects enrolled over 20,000 secondary school students during the summer of 1966.

In 1967 a total of 348 proposals were received by OEO, representing 215 renewal applications and 133 new applications. By April 1967, the 215 projects were renewed and 34 new projects were added, a total of 249, with at least 1 proect in every state. Approximately 22,500 students were enrolled during the summer of 1967.

In 1968, with the guidelines revised and distributed to schools throughout the country, 247 renewal applications and 148 new applications were received, bringing the number of proposals submitted to 395. All 247 renewal applications as well as 38 new programs were funded, raising the total of Upward Bound programs in the summer of 1968 to 285 and the number of students enrolled to more than 25,000. In 1968, the non-Federal share for all grantees was raised from the original 10 percent to 20 percent of the total cost of the program with a corresponding reduction in the Federal share from 90 percent to 80 percent. The total cost of the 1968 programs came to $36,720,132, with local sponsoring agencies paying $6,921,842 and the Federal government paying $29,796,290.

Since 1967, Educational Associates, Inc. (EAI) has been under contract to OEO to assist in the development of Upward Bound programs. Within that organization a computerized system has been set up for the purpose of gathering statistical information on students participating in the program. The current data from EAI on Upward Bound participants provides an interesting profile of the participants.

The 10,000 Upward Bound students who were high school graduates in June 1968 had these characteristics: the average age was 17; the sex distribution was almost equal; the racial backgrounds were about 60 percent Afro-Americans, 35 percent Caucasians, 7 percent Spanish-speaking, 4 percent American Indian, and the remaining 4 percent from several minority groups.

Data on Upward Bound graduates who have gone on to college is encouraging and speaks well for the program. Information reported in April 1968 indicates the following: of the students who participated in 1965 and graduated that year, 80 percent were admitted to college and, in 1968, 57 percent of that group were college juniors. This compares with 62 percent of the national college population who remain in college into the junior year. Of those program participants who graduated in 1966, 78 percent were admitted to college, and 72 percent of them were college sophomores in 1968 as compared with 75 percent of the national college population who continued into their sophomore year. Of those students who participated in 1967 and who graduated in that year, 80 percent were admitted to college. In April 1968, 92 percent of these were still in college.

IV. IMPACT OF UPWARD BOUND

A. Impact on the Secondary School

In assessing the impact of Upward Bound on the secondary school it was necessary to consider: 1) the students, 2) the school, and 3) the faculty and staff.

The findings from interviews described in this chapter show that Upward Bound has had a significant impact on students who were participants and some limited carryover to other students who were not involved in the program. However, the policies and practices of the secondary schools and the attitudes of their faculty and staff evidence little impact from Upward Bound.

The three principal reasons for this absence of impact on most secondary schools are:

1. The number of students from any given high school participating in the Upward Bound program is too small to affect the whole school.

2. Most Upward Bound programs are viewed as programs which repudiate the policies and practices of traditional educational establishments. This, in effect, obviates any meaningful working relationship between Upward Bound programs and the public school systems.

3. There is little or no communication between those involved in Upward Bound and the faculty and staff of the public high schools.

This assessment of impact is based on opinions expressed in 447 interviews conducted in the 16 cities visited and responses on the questionnaires returned by the administrators of 95 high schools throughout the country. In addition, informal conversations with dozens of people have influenced the total evaluation. All interviewing aimed to identify the respondent's perception of the program and its impact and the assessment made here represents the concensus of these perceptions regarding all the programs and communities observed.

There were differences from city to city in the impact of the program on the schools and in the quality of the relationships among individuals involved in the program. The influence of Upward Bound seemed to relate directly to the amount of individual contact between school and Upward Bound personnel, and the degree of commitment demonstrated by the Board of Education and the professional staff to improve the quality of education. Maximum impact was approached in one city where communication between parents and school was completely open, and where quality education from nursery school through the fourth year of college was an important public concern.

The following three sections discuss the apparent impact of Upward Bound on: 1) the student, 2) the school, and 3) the faculty and staff.

1. Effect on the Student

Through questions about motivation, academic performance, participation in extracurricular activities, and changes, if any, in patterns of association, the study sought to determine the effect of Upward Bound upon the students involved.

Among the people interviewed on this subject were: high school personnel, including teachers, guidance counselors, and principals; university personnel, including Upward Bound project directors and staff members and university faculty members who taught in the summer Upward Bound program; students, including those currently in high school and high school graduates who had formerly been part of the Upward Bound program; community leaders, including Community Action Agency directors, members of various policy-making and advisory committees to the local Upward Bound program, local citizens who were leaders in various community organizations, parents of Upward Bound students, and a number of people who, although they had no official title, were important in the informal power structure of the local community.

The most consistent response from all sources and in all cities indicated that the Upward Bound program has had a significant educational impact on the students who have participated in the program. Repeated comments confirm that there has been improved academic performance, increased motivation to pursue higher education, and heightened social awareness. The following appraisals were synthesized from the interviews.

a. Teacher Appraisal

In four cities, high school teachers noted that a significant number of students had changed their courses or academic tracks in high school from commercial and general programs to college preparatory programs. Other teachers reported that many students had become average readers and had shown definite improvement in their knowledge of the basic skills. Almost all the teachers commented on the dramatic development in the ability of program participants to think things through independently and to express themselves clearly, as well as on their increased class participation. One teacher stated that, "Most of the Upward Bound kids in my class would not have performed as well if it were not for their summer experience." Another teacher noted that, "Once these kids become part of the Upward Bound program, they tend to make friends with other people who are achievers."

Discussing areas other than academic performance, several teachers felt that, as a result of the attention focused on them during the summer, the students were taking a more active role in the school community and reported that a number of them had been elected as school leaders. They also felt that interpersonal relationships between black and white students had improved because of the increased contacts. One teacher said, "Meeting new friends has had a profound effect on some of the students who no longer seem so withdrawn." Another teacher summarized the general feeling when she said, "You can recognize Upward Bound students because they have zest and feeling of importance as individuals."

Major criticism was limited to teachers in three cities who were unaware of which students in their classes had been enrolled in Upward Bound or were unaware that some of their students were attending tutorial sessions on Saturdays or during evening hours. In one particular school where this type of teacher insensitivity was exhibited, the principal, in his interview indicated that he also did not know which youths in his high school had been part of the Upward Bound program during the summer of 1968. He stated that the Upward Bound students had "contributed nothing in 1966, added nothing in 1967, and in 1968 had contributed some cheerleaders." This is indicative of the need for faculty involvement with Upward Bound personnel. If the school administration and faculty do not even know who is in the program, obviously it cannot have impact.

b. Guidance Counselor Appraisal

High school guidance counselors also projected a positive feeling regarding the effect Upward Bound has had on the students. Almost all of the counselors were quick to note that many of the participants were now more outgoing, socialized more, were communicating and expressing themselves much better, and had a more confident and optimistic view of the future. They felt that some of the students had inspired younger siblings to do better work and had made their parents quite proud. Counselors stated that Upward Bound students tended to stick together and to give each other support. They believed that increased interest in speech clubs, debating teams, and cultural activities were a positive outgrowth of the program. One counselor summarized her observations by saying, "Upward Bound students are 'thinking kids' and they are active in the community. They spread the gospel to their classmates and are the program's best ambassadors."

On the negative side, one guidance counselor felt that the black power activity to which Upward Bound students were exposed was fostering arrogance, not pride. In two cities it was felt by some counselors that the majority of students had not benefited from the program and that many were taking advantage of the tutors and, in fact, were participating only to receive the extra money they could get from the project.

c. Principal Appraisal

The high school principals viewed the impact of Upward Bound on students in the context of the family and the community as well as the school. One principal in a populous city with a large ghetto area commented on the effect of having program participants live in college dormitories during the summer months. He stated, "Upward Bound has really demonstrated the need to take some students out of their immediate environment. Most students are under a great deal of pressure and tension at home. They are forced to assume adult roles which prevents wholesome adolescent growth. Too many of our students come from broken homes." Another principal from a large city noted that, "There is a new camaraderie among Upward Bound students from all over the city. There is citywide identification with other Upward Bound students. This is good because it helps them to understand others from various sections of the city. Many students visit Upward Bound friends, both black and white, in other areas of the city."

Another principal speaking about academic achievements reported that in some cases there had been a real increase in performance while in others there had been a decrease. He indicated that, when performance fell off, it meant to him that there were problems which had not yet been uncovered, and that more psychological help was needed in the program.

The responses from the principals indicated that approximately 70 percent felt there was positive impact on the students, while 10 percent discerned little or no impact and about 20 percent said that they were unable to make any judgment concerning impact.

High school principals gave the first hint that there were real differences between the program carried on during the summer months by Upward Bound and a regular high school program conducted during the school year. One principal was quoted as saying, "Kids respond to Upward Bound in a way that they do not respond to school." Another principal noted that participants asked more questions in the classroom and that this was "painful to many of the teachers."

In three cities, principals noted that the program had been especially meaningful to students' families and that the financial aid received through the Upward Bound program enabled many of the students to go on to college. Program participants, it was noted, had an increased awareness of their own potential and participated to a greater extent in student government. In three high schools, Upward Bound students were taking leadership roles in organizing Afro-American clubs. In four other schools visited, it was reported that such clubs had already been organized. Principals of the other 29 schools made no mention of such activity.

d. Upward Bound Staff Appraisal

Almost all Upward Bound staff members noted that program participants had wider areas of interest and a more critical outlook toward people, toward the world, and toward current events. They felt that participants responded warmly to the feeling that staff members really cared about them and had developed an increased sense of trust in the staff. One assistant project director said, "Kids blossom out because someone listens and gives them a chance; they become thoughtful about themselves, about their schooling, and about their life's work." In one large city, a project director noted that a number of black students had become active in black students' organizations and had also became involved with other ethnic groups in attacking various social problems. Staff members felt that Upward Bounders learned to put their own hopes and aspirations into more realistic perspective and that being on a college campus had given them an understanding of the demands of college life. It was noted that many students matured quickly and felt a responsibility to help other children in their neighborhood. In one neighborhood, a group of Upward Bound students organized tutoring programs for local elementary school children.

e. University Personnel Appraisal

In discussing the impact of the program on the students, faculty members from cooperating universities described Upward Bound summer assignments as a most exhilarating experience. Several of these professors have had many years of experience at the university level, and some are departmental chairmen or administrative officers. Although they were used to college enrollees, the high school youngster was a somewhat different student, and certainly the disadvantaged community background of the Upward Bounders was markedly different from that of the average college student. The university people found the Upward Bound students alert and, in most cases, unwilling to accept a passive role in the classroom. They noted that many students asked pointed questions and placed great demands on the teachers. One of the instructors stated, "Upward Bound kids are shrewd, wordly wise, and won't accept a phony program--they want to demonstrate their own abilities." In three cities, professors indicated that many Upward Bound students currently enrolled as freshmen were doing better than the average freshmen at the college. This observation was not made in the other 13 cities.

A university admissions officer stated that, "Upward Bound kids seem more sophisticated than most freshmen." "The students have a new confidence," stated one professor. "They are more outgoing, more assertive, and are not afraid to approach the school administration and project leaders regarding program changes." The head of the English department in a major university felt strongly that he was experiencing a personal renewal of his own energies as a result of his involvement with Upward Bound. "The lack of formal classroom sessions is an invaluable part of this program. In academic performance there has been a significant change in the students' writing ability. There is, of course, an immediate audience for a student's work; essays can be written in class; the teacher can read some of them immediately; he can pull out various ideas, make clarifications, give examples of in-depth searching, and so forth. You can really forget about the rest of it--the grammar and all that. It certainly is an exciting teaching experience."

The university personnel also observed that major changes occured in the attitude of the students. About a third of the university people interviewed made comments indicating that students were eager to give and take, to share with one another, and that they cared about each other. Some professors were happy to report that students had returned in the fall to see them and even to sit in on a class or two.

f. Student Appraisal

Of all the groups interviewed, the high school students themselves were the most vocal in their praise of the Upward Bound program and the effect it had had on them as students in their local high schools. Their comments generally fell into one of two categories. First, they discussed relationships among different groups of students, black and white, rural and urban, and students of varied religious backgrounds. Second, they described how the program had helped their academic performance in high school.

In the area of interpersonal relations the field work for the study reconfirmed that no section of the country is immune from prejudice. A young girl from Appalachia who had never know a Catholic, a Jew, or a Negro, said she found that where a person came from and the color of his skin didn't really matter and that it was the person that was important. Another boy from a rural area stated, "At home the kids from my county regularly fight with kids from the next county. I roomed with two kids from that other county and I learned that the person is important and not where he comes from." A white student from Middletown, Connecticut commented about the predominantly black South End in that city. She stated, "Before Upward Bound I did not have any close friends who were black and I knew nothing about the South End. Now I have close friends there and I stayed overnight with one of them. I understand a lot better today why there were disturbances there last year." A black high school girl from the Roxbury section of Boston commented about South Boston, which is almost totally white. She said, "The Upward Bound program did a lot for me. I never went into South Boston before for any reason on any occasion. But the South Boston kids in the program were really nice and they changed my opinion about them." On the other hand, one student indicated that her parents couldn't believe that she had "colored friends." They told her not to bring her friends to the house, concluding, "What will the neighbors think?"

Students repeatedly noted that the program has helped their understanding of their school work. Several indicated that they were no longer nervous when they talked to other people, that they had overcome shyness. One student stated, "Upward Bound helps you find yourself. It makes you realize that you can be somebody." A number of students were happy to be in Upward Bound because they were able to take courses in the fine arts and foreign languages that the high school did not normally offer. Participants felt that the program had helped them to become more enthusiastic about school because they had learned to appreciate people more and became more friendly. They looked upon the opportunity to go to plays and concerts and to have other new experiences as an aid in developing them into better students.

Most Upward Bounders recognized the value of dormitory living as an educational experience. Many of them mentioned the long discussions they had had in the evening with other students and dormitory counselors. They indicated that they had learned a lot about other schools, what kind of programs were offered, and what kind of extracurricular activities were available to students. They enjoyed comparing their situations and debated the values of each. A number of students praised the fall follow-up program and said it was helpful to them with their current high school subjects. The feeling of most Upward Bounders was summed up by one student who said, "The program made me determined that I would not settle for anything less than a college education."

Although high school students made many positive comments regarding the Upward Bound program and how it had helped them, there was evidence of a strong and growing feeling of disenchantment with the high school program offerings and especially with teacher attitudes. Student hostility toward guidance counselors and teachers emerged as they constantly compared their summer experience with their regular high school experience. These comments showed a good deal of insight into the problems that exist in the

American high school today. One participant reported that, "We operated on live frogs, not like in the high school where the teacher does the experiment and we look on."

About 75 percent of the students complained about the methods and techniques used by high school teachers. In some cases they stated their criticisms directly, in some cases it was implied. One student said, "Teachers in Upward Bound leave some things open for you to discover by yourself. You want to find out things on your own and ask questions." This feeling was reinforced by comments like, "Teachers in the high school talk at you too much," or, "The teachers in Upward Bound sit with you in class, not in front of you." Another student said, "I wish we could do something more interesting in high school classes than just sitting and listening all day. In Upward Bound English classes, there is more discussion. In high school we just read and hear lectures."

The students clearly were impressed with what appeared to them to be unstructured and free-flowing lesson presentations in their Upward Bound classes. There were repeated comments relating to freedom of speech and the desire to have more discussion classes in the regular high school. One student stated that, "High school learning is too formal. You can't get to know the teacher."

The matter of trust seemed to be extremely important to a number of students. One boy stated that, "In Upward Bound you learn to trust people and talk to them because they care about you. In high school you don't trust anyone. You are always out to beat the other guy."

One student who was critical of several high school teachers admitted that they were doing the best they could under the conditions that existed in his own school where facilities were not as complete as they were at the Upward Bound project center. A number of students who mentioned class size and teaching loads commented that it was impossible to have open,wide-ranging discussions when classes exceeded 35 or 40 students per room.

From city to city and from project to project students consistently expressed the feeling that their teachers were indifferent and cold to them. One student expressed the thought that, "The high school teacher's job is to give you information and to be paid for it; the student can take it or leave it." By comparison, he said, "The people in Upward Bound really care. When I wanted to make out an application for college my high school guidance counselor told me to stop wasting his time and that I should go and join the Army." An Upward Bound staff member helped this boy fill out the application and he is now in his second year of college. Another felt, "Upward Bound teachers care. In high school it seems that the teacher's attitude is 'I have mine, you get yours,' " or, "High school teachers are mostly there for the job and the pay." The value of Upward Bound was pointed up by a student who said, "In regular high school, if you're slow, it's your hard luck."

Upward Bound students were particularly vocal about the fine qualities of the teachers in the various Upward Bound programs. Their responses give strong evidence that many of the positive results of the program can be directly attributed to the warm teacher-student relationship. The teachers have made their classes interesting, have made the learning process much less structured and more informal, and have allowed for healthy discussion and debate to occur. Those programs which seemed to engender the greatest student enthusiasm were ones which had less structure and used teachers who appear to be less rigid. Programs which had been conducted by teachers who felt that standards should be raised, discipline tightened, and selection processes upgraded to bring the more capable students to the program, had less appeal for students since they seemed to be merely an extension of regular school.

Thus, an important key to student satisfaction lies in the educational philosophy that the teachers and the project director bring to the program. The more successful projects were those in which the teachers felt free to innovate and where they were not hindered by excessive rules and regulations governing their teaching activity.

g. Community Leader Appraisal

While to some community leaders the program simply represented a way of keeping teen-agers out of trouble during the summer, others recognized that many participants were showing an increased sense of responsibility. One person noted what he called "an excitement about learning." He felt that the youths were the best salesmen for the program and that they were developing a better understanding of people. About three-quarters of the community leaders interviewed felt that the program was responsible for a reduction in the dropout rate and for the fact that each year more youngsters graduated from high school and went on to college. They noted that there was much more talk in the community about going to college. In the past this had been something most students only dreamed about.

In six cities, community leaders made a point of reporting that Upward Bound participants developed a strong group feeling and loyalty. In no case though, did any of these leaders feel threatened by this phenomenon. They noted that the program had a positive effect on former troublemakers and that most of the students involved in the program developed a greater respect for each other and a greater self-discipline. They described some youngsters who were displaying certain social graces at home that they had never shown before. In some cases this was distressing, or at least embarrassing, to parents.

h. Summary of Effect on the Student

The most significant response regarding impact on students has come from the students themselves. Disenchantment with regular high school, both programs and teachers, is real and growing. The increasing anger and sense of despair caused by the teachers' continued insensitivity to the problems of the disadvantaged is becoming a national problem. Unless existing educational authorities drop their traditional resistance to change in favor of a responsive attitude toward this growing discontent, the established forms and institutions may topple and require a total restructuring of the educational system.

For most of the participants, Upward Bound has been their first encounter with an innovative teacher. For the first time, they have been encouraged to speak up in class--to participate. The experience has been rewarding to students but at the same time it has heightened their frustration.

Their expectations have been raised in summer programs only to be let down in the fall when the high school fails to continue the enriched program and refuses to consider changes or to challenge local school authorities to improve the educational environment.

Thus Upward Bound participants will certainly be part of the dynamic force for change. Their demands will grow not only out of their Upward Bound experience, but also out of their lives as members of the poor and disadvantaged who have been relegated to second-class citizenship and to mismanaged, poorly-staffed, ghetto schools.

The reality of this educational discontent is likely to be felt first in the large, urban areas which have parallel problems in other community service systems--housing, health, transportation, recreation, etc. This combination only serves to compound the frustrations of the citizens living in these complex centers of population.

This study highlights the challenge to the designers and administrators of Upward Bound and similar programs to develop the ability to work with and influence the educational establishments. More specifically, given the present level of funding and school population, Upward Bound must seek ways to affect schools that the students, themselves, recognize are handicapped by oversized classes and lack of staff, space, and equipment.

2. Effect on the School

The second question to which this study addressed itself was whether or not Upward Bound had affected the school in relation to curriculum and teaching. Interviewers sought to determine if Upward Bound had been responsible for such changes as the introduction of new courses, new emphasis in a teacher's presentation of certain materials, acquisition of new books for the school library, and initiation of new inservice programs. Changes in school rules and regulations, methods of guidance counseling and of establishing certain groupings of students were examined to determine whether they were a result of Upward Bound.

In seeking this information, the study staff looked to the teachers, guidance counselors, and principals in the 36 schools. The students were also asked whether they had noticed any effect on, or changes in, the school which one could relate to Upward Bound. The following appraisals were synthesized from these interviews:

a. Teacher Appraisal

Many secondary school teachers and administrators seemed generally reluctant to discuss their individual schools, fearing to speak critically of the existing procedures in that institution. The most responsive of those interviewed were either the very young teachers or those who had had many years of experience and consequently felt very secure in their position.

Almost all of the teachers indicated that they saw some changes in the high school. In only two cities, however, was there an indication that any of the changes had been stimulated by Upward Bound. Changes were generally perceived as growing out of other stimuli in the community. Most of those who were afraid to discuss changes or who saw no change claimed that not enough of the students were enrolled in Upward Bound to have an effect on the school programs. In some cases, teachers complained that there was no communication about the program. In others, teachers indicated that rigid administrative control made them feel it would be unwise to voice criticisms even behind the cloak of anonymity.

The most consistent response from teachers who did answer the question of impact on the high school concerned library programs. There were a number of comments that new books were appearing in the high school library, and that many of them were on black history and black literature, and that there were a greater number of contemporary books. In one city, a teacher reported that both students and teachers were now free to suggest new books and that the types of books that were ordered, especially those on black history and black literature, were directly related to the local Upward Bound program. In another city, books like Before the Mayflower, Eyewitness to History, Manchild in the Promised Land, and Another Country have been introduced into the library. It was noted that many of these began as library books, but that some were now used as textbooks in social studies classes.

In three cities, teachers noted that there had been changes in school rules and regulations which benefited only Upward Bound students. However, even in these situations, teachers were reluctant to attribute these changes solely to Upward Bound. It was apparent that they felt it was difficult to bring about changes in the high school and several ducked this question by saying that the principal or the school board was responsible for all changes. Occasionally, there were indications of personal sacrifices or struggles to bring about certain changes. In one southern city a teacher noted that an Afro-American history class had been added mainly through the efforts of a guidance counselor who, in the words of the teacher, "fought the necessary battle."

In four cities, teachers who taught in the Upward Bound summer program were eager to discuss changes because they were trying to implement some of the techniques they had used in the summer program. Others, who were not in the summer program, were attempting to set up projects similar to those described by students who had participated in the summer. One teacher reported that changes attempted by Upward Bounders produced tensions and even retrogression in the school. "I've tried a number of changes in my classes and have suggested that certain periodicals be ordered, but I can't even get Ebony into the library. The Upward Bounders who are much more willing to express themselves now are often cut down by their teachers. But they continue to try. The principal, who I feel is a racist, has an insane fear that something is going to happen in the school because of the integration situation. At one time the teachers had something to say about changes, but now only the principal can act."

Teachers in one school felt that the fact that Upward Bound youth, who took courses in the summer that were not available during the regular school year, had stimulated school officials to introduce a humanities class. Unfortunately, it was introduced in the fall of 1967 and withdrawn in the fall of 1968. The teachers hoped that the Upward Bound people could get the course reinstated. Many teachers believed they had become more sensitive to the needs of students and now tended to avoid making prejudgments. Several indicated that what they had seen as a result of the Upward Bound program had demonstrated to them that there are certain inadequacies in the local high school. One teacher felt sure that the constant questioning by Upward Bound students had motivated her to improve her teaching methods.

b. Guidance Counselor Appraisal

Guidance counselors reacted similarly to the teachers. One, who was doing more college counseling, felt this was a direct result of the Upward Bound program. She felt that participants, by talking so much about going to college, and about the fact that it was not that hard to go, had stimulated a lot of other students to think about college. Another guidance counselor admitted that she had known changes were necessary long before Upward Bound but that Upward Bound had underlined the need to everyone. Counselors, like teachers, were reluctant to acknowledge that any changes had taken place. As one counselor stated, "There have been a lot of changes in attitude, but you cannot get anyone to admit it."

In one community, a remedial reading program which previously had existed only in the elementary school has been introduced into the high school. It was noted that the guidance counselors, who had been working for this for a long time, were able to use Upward Bound as an example of what could be done to improve reading ability.

In about half of the schools visited, guidance counselors had worked closely with Upward Bound project directors and staff members in recruiting students for the Upward Bound program. One counselor felt that this had brought about a definite change in her counseling procedures. The recruitment effort brought her into personal contact with many more of the parents, and, as a consequence, she felt she had come to know the students much better.

Changes attributable to Upward Bound appeared in direct proportion to the closeness with which counselors worked with Upward Bound staff.

Among those critical of the program, some counselors complained that there was no information feedback from Upward Bound, others complained about the increased paper work and the fact that there was less time for counseling as a result.

c. Principal Appraisal

All high school principals spoke about changes in curriculum and in some of the policies in their respective high schools. Only 4 out of 36 principals would acknowledge that Upward Bound had specifically stimulated any changes. One reported that rules had been relaxed to allow students from the local college to come into the high school to work with Upward Bounders. Afro-American history and culture courses had been introduced in a number of high schools but one principal pointed out the difficulty in finding qualified teachers who know something about African culture.

An assistant superintendent in a large school system felt that many people had changed their thinking about the educationally disadvantaged as a result of Upward Bound. He stated, "It has shown us that we must break away from traditional measurements and evaluative instruments as a means of selecting students for college." In a number of high schools, Upward Bound counselors and school guidance counselors were making plans to share information and techniques. This kind of interaction was also being planned between Upward Bound students and the teachers and administrative officers in some schools.

One principal reported holding monthly breakfast meetings with the Upward Bound students to give them an opportunity to express their ideas and propose changes for the high school. An assistant principal, who taught mathematics in Upward Bound, indicated that he has had meetings with members of the high school mathematics department to share some of the techniques that were used during the summer program. A vice-principal in a small rural high school, felt that his teachers were being challenged and motivated to improve their own educational background. He said, "Youngsters are reading more books and asking us about them. Many of our teachers have not read some of the books in question so they have to go back to the library and do some personal research. It certainly has had a positive effect on the staff and has made a number of us better teachers." One principal noted that Upward Bound students were highly critical of some of the teachers in his English department. "I had to beef up that department," he said.

On the whole, the Upward Bound program has made teachers and principals more aware of outside resources that can be used to individualize their teaching. Although many of those interviewed indicated that they knew that the school system needed changing prior to Upward Bound, [illegible] was obvious that, in a number of situations, Upward Bound projects had brought the need solidly into focus, and that in some cases positive changes were being made.

d. Student Appraisal

Student reaction to impact on the schools was limited. A number of them felt that older teachers were not as tolerant of the Upward Bound participants as the younger teachers. In a few situations, special classes had been set up but the students did not react favorably. Most of them indicated that they would rather be in their regular classes and not have a "big deal" made over the fact that they were Upward Bounders.

Students did report that, in one school, Upward Bound students had demanded new science equipment and that the equipment had been installed this past fall. They recognized that it probably had not been made available solely because of their efforts, but many of them felt they had played a part in getting the new equipment for the school.

e. Summary of Effect on the School

The evidence shows that Upward Bound has done little to effect change in curriculum and teaching methods in the high schools visited. This is partly because the amount of money, time, and effort spent is insufficient, and partly because school systems, which represent a bulwark of the community establishment, are most resistant to change from the outside. However, the interviews did indicate that increased questioning and demands from students, especially those associated with Upward Bound, has made teachers more aware that pressures for change are growing.

Changes in curriculum, where the greatest demands are being made, will come slowly because curriculum is revered as the unchanging guardian of educational values, but the black community wants American history taught "as it really was." For teachers, such a change means, first, that they must participate in inservice courses and special refresher programs sometimes after school without compensation, and sometimes with no credit toward salary increases. They fear that, like other "new" programs, "new history" may be poorly introduced to the community and that there will be little public support for these programs. Secondly, teachers resist imposition of these new courses because of a new militancy and a redefinition of the teacher's role in curriculum formulation. The development of the curriculum, which has always been regarded as a responsibility of the local school board, has been strongly challenged by teachers' organizations. This same demand coming from community leaders has produced an uneasy relationship and even open conflict.

However, in schools where teachers, counselors, and principals have been involved in Upward Bound, the impact of the summer program appeared to be in direct relationship to their degree of involvement. Teachers who taught in the summer program introduced new teaching methods in the school year, counselors who worked with Upward Bound staff were more likely to begin serious academic counseling with disadvantaged youth, and principals who knew Upward Bound students were most likely to encourage students to express themselves about school issues or at least give them an opportunity to talk about wanted change.

Conversely, when teachers, counselors, or principals had little involvement with Upward Bound staff, program, or students there was little impact.

Upward Bound staff members, through the attitudes and educational approaches they encourage in the summer program, have an obvious potential for leadership in bridging the gap between teachers and the community and making education relevant to large segments of the school population.

3. Impact on the Faculty and Staff

In looking at the faculty and staff of the selected high schools, the study team sought to determine whether there had been any changes in the attitudes of administrators or teachers toward the disadvantaged. The field analysts were concerned with the general tone and philosophical thrust of the school, whether or not it had become more permissive or more restrictive, and whether Upward Bound students were given any special treatment. They were particularly interested to discover if high school faculty members who had taught in the summer Upward Bound program had had an opportunity to share their experiences with their colleagues. The following appraisals were synthesized from interviews:

a. Teacher Appraisal

In two cities, teachers indicated that they had developed an increased sensitivity regarding the problems of their students. One teacher who had worked in the summer program felt that his attitude had changed considerably. He stated, "Before Upward Bound I was opposed to doing things that applied only to some students and not to others. I have learned that all people really don't have the same opportunities, and I have decided that some kids deserve a little extra help." A teacher from a southern high school indicated that integration had helped make many teachers more aware of the problems of the poor and disadvantaged. At four high schools, teachers noted that they had changed their teaching techniques after exposure to other teachers and students who had participated in Upward Bound. One said, "I used to lecture all the time, now I let them talk more." Another stated, "Upward Bound has helped me to communicate as a teacher. The enthusiasm of the students has helped me to keep my enthusiasm for teaching."

A number of teachers indicated that they now feel that disadvantaged youngsters could do a good deal better if they were given an opportunity to show their ability. One teacher indicated that he had higher expectations from those students who had attended Upward Bound programs. The reliance on standard tests within the high school came under criticism by teachers in four cities. The most discouraging note was the response to the question on how much teachers had been able to share their summer experiences with their colleagues. Of the 36 high schools visited in this study, only four had offered faculty members or Upward Bound staff an opportunity to discuss the summer program with the full faculty.

b. Guidance Counselor Appraisal

The guidance counselors made a number of interesting observations regarding teacher attitude. Counselors in three cities noted that, in the course of regular counseling sessions, students had indicated a number of positive changes in student-teacher relationships. Counselors in five high schools made comments indicating that teachers now seemed more interested in the problems of the black community and of the disadvantaged student and that Upward Bound was important among the many factors effecting this change. A number of counselors noted that teachers who worked with Upward Bound students, especially those who were part of the Upward Bound summer program, seemed to reflect a new interest in their work as teachers. Schools in two cities were described as more tolerant and less restrictive in student codes of behavior according to the counselors.

One counselor said that she had discovered that youngsters from poor homes could be taught. She went on to say, "I had to alter my counseling approach. Upward Bound has made me and other counselors aware that there are kids other than those we would normally encourage who can, in fact, go on to college. We have learned that many children from poverty backgrounds do have the potential for higher education and can be helped."

It was generally agreed that those staff members who worked directly in Upward Bound benefited most, and that they returned to school filled with new ideas. Regrets were expressed repeatedly that there were not enough teachers who knew about the program. In one school a counselor felt that 50 percent of the teachers were unaware of the program, and in another school, a counselor guessed the figure was as high as 90 percent.

c. Principal Appraisal

In all but one school studied, principals reacted positively to the question of impact on faculty and staff. This was summed up by one principal who said, "As teachers and administrators, we have all become a little more humane." Most principals felt that the general assessment of the ability and potential of disadvantaged students was far more optimistic. They suggested that teachers were being forced to reexamine their role as teachers and to reevaluate many of the techniques and methods they had used for years. The teachers who had participated in the summer program again caused special comment. One principal stated, "They're affected a great deal by their experience. Upward Bound has great flexibility, and the students there tend to feel freer to engage the teachers in dialogue. This carries over into the high school, and teachers who have worked in the summer program feel comfortable with the technique and have greater confidence in the students they teach." In one city it was noted that some teachers who had been considered rather bigoted seem to have changed their feelings and become more sensitive with regard to racial problems.

Some administrators and principals, particularly in the large cities, were obviously going through a careful self-evaluation and an analysis of their school systems. One chief administrator in a large city school district stated that Upward Bound was "an indictment of the public schools." A principal in that same city said, "The program constantly reminds us that we aren't doing our job." It should be noted that the projects in this city were among the most exciting visited by the field staff. This may indicate that project success is strongly related to flexible, open-minded school personnel who learn from Upward Bound and who, in turn, encourage the summer program to break new ground even if it highlights deficiencies in the high school.

d. Summary of Effect on the Faculty and Staff

Despite the examples of impact cited, the findings generally indicate that the Upward Bound program has had little perceivable influence on the attitudes of high school faculty and staff.

The primary reason for this lack of impact relates to the increasing pride that has been generated within the teaching profession and the accompanying resistance to educational programs and approaches developed by people outside of the traditional educational establishment. Most educators, therefore, evidence antipathy toward the educational approaches introduced by Upward Bound and other efforts of the war on poverty.

The educational establishment is reacting to many factors: the increased use of noncertified personnel as teacher assistants; the closeness of this new personnel to a portion of the community which is unknown to the traditionalists; the offering of unconventional curricula often involving unfamiliar techniques and methodology; the emphasis on relating education to employment and to the development of political awareness; the demand that education emphasize ethnicity to engender an improved self-image; and the simple fact that these programs and efforts are not controlled by the educational hierarchy.

It will not be easy to break down this wall of distrust. The established institutions will have to become more aware of and responsive to the social and cultural changes that are now taking place across the nation. At the same time, the agencies involved in new and innovative programs must understand the problems inherent in changing the focus and, in some cases, the philosophical thrust of the existing systems, and recognize that the involvement in the planning and development of programs, of all persons affiliated with the total effort, cannot only add to but is essential for the success of these programs.

B. Impact on the Community

In attempting to assess the impact of Upward Bound on local communities, the first problem facing the field staff was to define what constituted the community in each of the cities. In large urban areas where several Upward Bound programs were observed and a number of high schools were visited, the community tended to be the neighborhood in which the participants in each program lived. This meant that the field staff assessed more than one area in the large cities. In smaller cities there were only one or two high schools to visit and the community was more easily identified. In rural areas the problem again became complicated because students might come many miles to participate in the program. For example, in the Billings, Montana area, the Harlem, Montana High School, which was studied, was over 200 miles from Eastern Montana State College in Billings, so the community studied was not Billings, but rather the area and town surrounding Harlem High School. In all cases the location of the high school was the key to the community which was studied.

In meeting community leaders an attempt was made to assess how informed these leaders were about Upward Bound, how involved they were in the program, and what kind of support they thought the community gave to Upward Bound and other educational programs for the disadvantaged. In each area an attempt was made to determine how successfully the public advisory committees to the Upward Bound program were functioning. The following appraisals were synthesized from interviews.

a. Community Action Agency Appraisal

In every community visited, the initial contact on the community leader level, was made with the local Community Action Agency (CAA) Director. In some cases, this was the director of a citywide agency or a multicounty organization, while in others it was a local neighborhood center director.

CAA directors were uniformly well informed as to the purposes of Upward Bound. Once discussions went beyond the general goals of the program it was obvious that most directors were limited in their knowledge about its actual operation. This varied with the degree of involvement of the local CAA in the program. Questions about the type of educational program followed at the local Upward Bound Center were almost always left unanswered or were referred to the Upward Bound program director. CAA understanding of educational problems was further restricted because relationships between CAA and high school personnel were almost nonexistent.

b. Advisory Committee Member Appraisal

There were advisory committees in operation in all of the cities visited. The most significant problem noted was that the Upward Bound Advisory Committee was not always an independent body solely related to Upward Bound. In many cases the Upward Bound Advisory Committee and the CAA Advisory Committee were the same. In these cases, the committees were primarily CAA advisory groups and regarded Upward Bound as a secondary responsibility.

Most of the members of advisory committees who were interviewed, viewed their role correctly as that of advisors to the local project administrative staff. The amount of power they had varied from city to city but, in each case, it appeared to satisfy those board members who were interviewed, with one exception. One advisor felt that the academic senate from the local university controlled too much of the decision making. He also reported that, in his opinion, of the 24 members on the board, only one member met the poverty criteria.

c. Other Appraisals

Some of those interviewed regarding the impact of Upward Bound on the local community did not fall into easily identifiable categories. The knowledge they had about the program was extremely limited and answers given to field analysts during the course of the study were very general. Most of them recognized that the program involved high school students from disadvantaged homes and that the primary objective was to help them go to college. The director of a Community Renewal Project felt that the program "strengthened and upgraded the level of educational achievement of potential college students." A school board member from a large city said that the program "helped youngsters to learn that they could make something of themselves." A city councilman believed that Upward Bound was designed to "prevent high school dropouts and to further college opportunities for kids who might not otherwise go." In still another city, the President of a local NAACP felt that the program prepared secondary students for college but, more importantly, helped them to get scholarships. A community organizer for the Black Nationalist Party for Self Defense looked on the program as a stepping stone to higher education. He was concerned because he felt that too many Upward Bound youngsters lost their loyalty to the black community after they went to college.

Almost all of the people interviewed in the communities were positive in their judgment of Upward Bound. They were encouraged by the increasing number of young people who were attending college. The program seemed attractive because youths who they felt had not been getting a fair break in high school were now receiving attention. Many people felt the program should be expanded. There was almost a unanimous feeling among the community leaders interviewed that there were many more youngsters who could profit from Upward Bound but that the serious lack of funds for the program kept them from participating.

Direct community involvement in Upward Bound was limited to parents of participating students who might have attended meetings designed to give them an understanding of the program, and to members of the public advisory committees. Meetings with parents were not standard in all of the cities visited and parents rarely became engaged in meaningful discussions regarding the program.

One special example of positive impact of the program in the community needs to be reported. Parents in one city were particularly pleased with the Upward Bound program. They recognized that there was a noticeable increase in their children's motivation to do their work in school and in their desire to go to college. This excitement in learning had been communicated in the homes and the parents began to take an interest in improving their own education. Many of them began attending adult education classes. While upgrading themselves, they often discussed the progress that their children were making. These informal meetings were soon given some structure, and in a short time this group was officially known as Senior Upward Bound. The president of the group stated that the aims of his organization were to stimulate community interest in education for adults, and also to give Upward Bound parents an opportunity to keep in close touch with the program in which their children were participating.

The mixed response to questions dealing with support for Upward Bound and other educational programs for the disadvantaged seemed to reflect the political mood of the area.

On the specific question of political support, some people viewed their local representatives as indifferent and cold. As one person said, "The only time Upward Bound gets political support is when they feel it may quiet trouble in the community." The director of a local Urban League felt that there was no political support because, "The program is seen as antiestablishment." Another person felt that the program "has nowhere near the support enjoyed by Head Start." The president of a local chapter of the NAACP in a large city stated, "Poverty programs have not gone well here--the community does not know enough about the available programs. Maybe they don't want to know. They are real conservatives and feel there is a stigma attached to government programs, Federal money, black people, and the rest."

Many community leaders did keep careful records of the actions of congressmen, state representatives, and local officals and were quick to comment if someone had made a public statement praising the program. Legislators who had sent commendatory letters or telegrams to local administrators or advisory board members were well remembered by the recipients for these meaningful acts. Legislators who had acted negatively toward the program were duly labeled.

In five cities a number of persons interviewed made comments doubting the sincerity of school board members. They noted "a lot of lip service, but no real action." In many cases it was clear that there were serious doubts regarding the commitment of the educational leadership to expanded educational opportunities for the disadvantaged.

Of community support as a whole, some people said, "Residents are very concerned--this is a disadvantaged area--there is more hope than ever that our children may go to college." On the other hand, it was reported in another city, "Most parents here have given up--they see no hope for changing a bad high school situation."

Financial support was reported in three cities where money was raised locally for activities that were not permitted in the budget. Usually the money came from foundations, although in one community a small amount was raised by the parents.

There was general agreement that institutional support, primarily from cooperating colleges and universities, was good. One interviewee felt that more of the university staff should be involved in the program and, in one city, a community leader complained that, "We get good support from the university but they are slow to change. This is the first year that they are offering a course in their Department of Education relating to the disadvantaged."

d. Summary of Effect on the Community

Upward Bound has had relatively little impact on the activities of communities. To a large degree this is related to the fact that, outside of the community action agencies and people within educational circles, the community had a very limited knowledge about the goals of Upward Bound.

There are several reasons for this situation: 1) Upward Bound devotes only a small amount of effort to public relations and publicity; 2) in many cases there is a lack of commitment to the education of the disadvantaged by the community in general; 3) many communities simply do not have an effective organization to serve as an umbrella to bring programs like

Upward Bound together with other programs concerned with the education of the disadvantaged.

The absence of a public relations effort has allowed those forces in the community who traditionally oppose school budgets and other educational efforts to go unchecked in their campaigns to keep taxes down and Federal and state programs out.

The ineffectiveness of a poor community organization is very often related to an incompetence at all staff levels including those persons responsible for publicity. It is easy to see how a well-intentioned effort can become trapped and stalled because of breakdowns within its own structure.

Within the teaching profession there is a continuing frustration regarding the ways to educate the disadvantaged. Structural matters such as overcrowded classes and unusually high student-counselor ratios for guidance counselors all tend to militate against any effort to provide quality education. Coupled with the frustration that teachers are experiencing is the growing disenchantment on the part of community leaders, especially leaders of the poor and disadvantaged, with the ability of the schools to meet the educational needs of the community.

In Upward Bound many community leaders see hope. The educational establishment is threatened because within this program there have been successes which have been unrealized during the regular school year. The challenge to all parties is to recognize that the schools and all related educational programs justify their existence first and foremost in terms of the benefits they provide for the children and young adults who participate in the educative process.

V. COMMUNICATIONS

Each Upward Bound project is sponsored by a university or a community agency. It interacts with one or more public school systems, and its participants come from any number of nearby communities. The interrelationships among the university, the school system, and the community, and the ability of the project to communicate effectively with all three, in large part determine its ultimate success. Examination of the various communications links operating among these groups disclosed a serious deficiency in the total Upward Bound effort.

Interviews with faculty members at both the university and high school levels indicated a general lack of knowledge about the program. University personnel expressed little interest in meeting with their high school counterparts to discuss curriculum, course content, and presentation techniques. At the same time, high school teachers did not seem to recognize the value of examining with Upward Bound faculty any impact the summer involvement might have had on their students. Nor did they seem to feel responsible for discussing with the summer staff possible adjustments in subject matter presentation which might make regular high school more meaningful.

One high school science teacher first learned that much of the content he usually taught in the fall months had already been covered by some of his students when Upward Bound participants told him they had studied in the summer the topic he was about to introduce in class. He had made no effort to find out what the science content in the summer program had included nor had the Upward Bound staff attempted to inform science teachers about their curriculum.

This experience was repeated in English classes where no attempt was made by Upward Bound and regular high school teachers to avoid obvious duplications in books or plays studied, and no effort was made by either to adjust program content.

This lack of concern on the part of teachers resulted in a confused and disjointed experience for the students. After a stimulating summer, they were often forced to wade through the same material they had already studied. This only escalated the frustration and despair most of these students felt toward school.

Of the university faculty members interviewed, less than 10 percent had made any contact with secondary school teachers, nor did they see this as a meaningful experience. In cases where there had been meetings, they had been sporadic and not very useful. Some college faculty reflected a lack of confidence in the secondary schools and their teachers. One professor said, "I'm not impressed with most high schools here or with the staff from these schools." Another felt that there were "bad feelings between university and high school teachers because the high school teachers get paid as much, and sometimes more, than the university faculty."

Efforts by secondary school personnel to establish meaningful communications with the community had been minimal. In four cities, PTA was mentioned but it was quickly noted that, especially in large cities, teachers rarely attend meetings of these groups. A number of responses in four cities showed a discouraging insensitivity on the part of some teachers and principals to what was happening in the immediate vicinity of their schools. Several people noted that teachers and principals are increasingly moving to suburban areas and, therefore, are no longer part of the communities in which they work.

A number of comments by principals and administrators indicated that the traditional role of the high school principal had been seriously challenged. Changing conditions in our society, and in education as demonstrated by Upward Bound, may force a redefinition of that role.

In two cities, principals showed a growing awareness of their lack of community relationships. One principal indicated that he had developed relationships with community leaders whom he had not known a year ago. Another principal stated, "You have to keep your office open to the community--it's more time consuming, but it's the only way we are going to survive." Another felt that it was of prime importance for the "community to come into the schools and to see what is going on."

Community leaders also indicated that communication with the secondary schools was almost nonexistent and certainly of little value. The most active channel mentioned was the PTA, but again it was noted that relatively few people belonged to, or attended, the PTA. The fear of being out at night to go to evening meetings kept attendance, and membership, low.

In two cities, people expressed their belief that the schools purposely avoided meeting and working with leaders of the black community and that there was little communication except in time of crisis. Then, it was felt, the school administration turned to the black leadership to help "keep the lid on things."

In discussing the relationship between Upward Bound and the secondary school, almost all project directors reported that they had good relationships with the high school principals, particularly with the administrators of schools that had a large number of students participating in the program. There were exceptions where attempts had been made to recruit students from white high schools into programs conducted at Negro colleges. As a result of these particular efforts, the project directors involved had been excluded from certain high schools.

Staff members described excellent relationships with teachers who had taught in the summer program. A number of project directors felt that a major achievement of the program has been the influence that Upward Bound summer teachers have had on their colleagues in the high school.

As evidence of the acceptance of Upward Bound by the school administrators, it was noted that a number of participants had received credit for some of the courses they had taken in the summer and that a few high school seniors were being allowed to take courses at the university. Several project directors indicated that they had been invited to discuss Upward Bound with the entire faculty at the local high schools.

In examining communication between the schools and the local Community Action Agencies it was apparent that many high school people were confused by the multiplicity of programs and agencies and did not recognize that CAA is the coordinating agency for all OEO programs in the community including Upward Bound. They did not, in general, perceive any relationship with the CAA.

Some schools, however, did evidence good communication with the CAA. Several principals are members of CAA advisory committees. CAA education committees often hold their regular meetings in high schools, and principals and key high school faculty members are always invited to attend these meetings.

One CAA director reported that he was planning informal get-togethers at local neighborhood centers so that principals and teachers could meet with parents and other residents to talk about schools in an informal setting. It was felt that this technique would bring the school personnel in contact with members of the community to whom the high school building represents an awesome edifice.

In another city, it was reported that neighborhood workers were performing tasks similar to those of school social worker aides. Some were assigned to Upward Bound students for whom they acted as a liaison between school and home. They were given the use of school facilities along with office space. Although not professionally trained, these workers seem to have played an important role in keeping a number of Upward Bound students in high school.

There were also examples of communities where no communication exists. One CAA board member coldly stated, "We go our way, they (the schools) go theirs." In a number of cities the political climate discouraged cooperation with any government program. One Upward Bound advisory board member stated, "CAP is regarded as a thorn in the side of this community."

In spite of the confidence expressed by a majority of those interviewed in the effectiveness of the existing lines of intercommunication, there was little evidence that many meaningful activities or program changes have resulted.

Upward Bound project directors are in a unique position in their respective communities to provide leadership and to play a coordinating role among the various educational components affiliated with the project. In almost all of the situations observed it was obvious that both university and high school personnel were reluctant to make the first move in terms of coordinating the summer Upward Bound program and the regular high school program. In several cities, innovative projects were being carried out at a local university with no effort being made to share these experiences with the teachers in the local schools.

In one city, for instance, a program for developing basic skills had been established at a local college. This program was specifically designed for entering freshmen who showed a need to improve communication and mathematics skills. The director of this program was a dynamic and creative person who, through perseverance and determination, had developed an elaborate learning center with a good deal of sophisticated equipment. The equipment in this center and the talent of its director were used during the summer Upward Bound program but most high school teachers and principals in that city were amazed to learn from the study staff that the center, and the language laboratories connected with it, even existed.

Teachers and principals reacted positively to questions regarding the values that might come from visits to this center to observe the program in action, but there was always the question of who would initiate action. This situation offers a unique opportunity for the Upward Bound project director to bring the high schools and the college together.

The tactful intervention of project directors and their assumption of a third party role can do much to bring the university, the high school, and the community closer together and to intensify the impact that Upward Bound can have on each of these institutions.

VI. A DESCRIPTION OF A MODEL UPWARD BOUND PROGRAM

During the course of the field work no particular attempt was made to evaluate any of the programs observed since the primary focus of this study was to assess the impact programs have had on the secondary school and the community.

In one city though, the Upward Bound program operated with exceptional effectiveness. The following is a detailed description of that program which, in many respects, could serve as a model nationally.

A. Background

The program is located in a large city which, in recent years, has experienced all of the explosions related to the urban syndrome of poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and inadequate education. There are over a million and a half residents in the central city. The total high school enrollment is about 60,000 with students attending more than 20 high schools.

Few students in the inner-city schools are able to contemplate college. One recent study has shown that only 6 percent of a sample of these students were achieving at a B average or above. The same study revealed that, while 30 percent of the sample indicated a desire to attend college, less than 6 percent were actually planning to attend. Poor self-image coupled with academic deficiencies and low-level vocational aspirations were cited as reasons which directly affected the aspirations of the students in relation to higher education.

B. The Overall Program

Upward Bound was introduced with the expectation that it would be a significant force in reversing the course of intellectual apathy and low motivation in this group. While the program emphasizes both the cognitive and motivational aspects of learning, centering on the language arts, both mathematics and science are included in the curriculum.

The Upward Bound program is operated by a consortium of universities with one of the universities acting as the administering institution. The facilities of all three institutions are used in all phases of the program. Boys are housed at one institution while the girls are in residence at a second university. Over 200 students are involved in the summer program.

One example of the sponsors' total commitment to Upward Bound is the automatic admissions policy. This guarantees admission to one of the universities to every student who completes the Upward Bound program, regardless of his academic standing or high school grades. Other examples of this commitment are the establishment of a special office on scholarships and financial aids and the introduction into the university of a special freshman English composition course designed to prepare Upward Bound students for their second college English course.

First-year college students who have participated in Upward Bound also benefit from a special committee on higher education opportunities. The program sponsored by this committee enables Upward Bound students who enter local colleges to continue to receive tutorial assistance, counseling, and additional financial aid while attending college.

C. Recruitment and Selection

The primary area served by the program is the inner city. The recruitment is intense at inner-city high schools, with an enrollment goal of from 10 to 20 students from each of these schools. Ongoing relationships have been established with representatives from the guidance departments at almost all of the target schools and recruitment focuses on students in the tenth year. Positive relationships have been made with parochial as well as public school officials.

The Upward Bound program is well known throughout the city and is seen as a successful program. Publicity efforts are continuous and include stories in neighborhood weeklies, the local black press, and the daily newspapers. In addition to contacts with the secondary schools, recruitment information is forwarded to Community Action Agencies, vast numbers of community organizations, and the previously mentioned committee on higher education opportunities.

Large numbers of referrals are constantly forwarded to the recruitment staff. Each student meeting the family income criteria is personally interviewed by an Upward Bound staff member before acceptance into the program. The selection criteria in the Guidelines are followed carefully with emphasis on choosing the underachieving, economically deprived, and socially disadvantaged student who, it appears, will not be able to reach his potential for higher education without the experience of Upward Bound.

D. Parent Involvement

The success of this program is significantly related to the conscious effort which has been made to involve parents and the community in helping to develop and support the goals of the program.

Continuous communication is maintained with parents in a meaningful manner through community aides who are paraprofessionals from within the community selected from persons recommended by the local CAA.

More specifically, the function of the community aide is:

1. to explain the program to the parents;
2. to give parents specific information and aid where needed;
3. to make an initial evaluation of the home environment for the professional staff and to communicate to them any pertinent changes in that environment;
4. to report to the professional staff any "feedback" from parents about any phase of the program.

Local experience during the past year indicates that the most effective way of fulfilling these functions is to have the community aide do the following:

1. Make a personal visit to the parents at least once a month. During the eight-week summer period, the contacts, at least by phone, should be increased.
2. Plan and conduct small group meetings between the parents and staff at least every two months.
3. Attend all regular staff meetings and also participate in special meetings with specific staff members to exchange knowledge about Upward Bound students and their families.
4. Meet weekly with the coordinator to relay any information from or about the Upward Bound families and to receive inservice training.
5. Accompany students, when necessary, to medical appointments and other personal errands arranged for the students by Upward Bound.
6. Disseminate to parents any information concerning community activities which may be of value to these families. Further, along with the coordinator, aid these families in utilizing any appropriate community organizations. For example, a family could be apprised of a welfare program for which it might be eligible. With the family's consent, Upward Bound personnel will make an appointment with the caseworker and include the community aide at this conference.

7. Attempt to obtain the name of any caseworker presently assigned to an Upward Bound family. This caseworker would then be contacted by the coordinator and notified of the Upward Bound program. The coordinator and community aide work with the caseworker whenever it might be beneficial.

Upward Bound families are often multiproblem families with little energy to encourage children in academic attainment. Through the community aide, it is sometimes possible to alleviate problems to some degree, and to increase the encouragement received in the home.

E. Curriculum

In the Upward Bound program under discussion, the typical student was found not only to lack a command of many of the basic academic skills but also to have a low level of communication. One of the primary ingredients in planning the curriculum was communication skills. To many students language is considered a threat.

Another characteristic of the Upward Bound student was a negative attitude toward "self" and the pursuit of knowledge. Participation and interaction in classroom and community activities greatly influenced the students' values and judgments. Through curricular and extra-curricular activities, concepts of freedom, responsibility, and self-discipline were emphasized and self-confidence was cultivated. The student who was free and spontaneous, who was eager and receptive, and who sought new opportunities, was the student who thought well of himself and of others, and saw his identity with his environment. The curriculum was aimed at shaping these standards.

The academic program which follows, deals with these basic curricular considerations.

1. Communication Skills

Materials and activities were selected which enhanced the Upward Bound student's ability to read, write, speak, and listen effectively. The program was aimed at helping the student manifest the following characteristics:

a. to speak and write clearly and effectively;

b. to employ correct usage, correct spelling, and legible penmanship;

c. to read for information and enjoyment;

d. to acquire ideas from the spoken and written language and develop the ability to see their relationships;

e. to check facts;

f. to listen intelligently and with growing discrimination so that he may weigh ideas;

g. to observe details and recognize their meaning.

For the student contemplating a college program, such skills are essential. The major instructional emphasis was directed toward the successful development of these skills The methods used were as varied as the number of students in the program. Some of the more successful methods used, were:

a. Classroom instruction in English, reading, and writing
b. Panel and small group discussions
c. Student-planned and-performed assemblies
d. Writing contests
e. Debate teams and contests
f. Research projects and reports
g. Student government
h. Speech classes
i. Great Books Club
j. Drama Club
k. An Upward Bound newspaper
l. American Heritage Club
m. Enrollment in reading and study skills laboratories at the local university
n. Writing college application autobiographies

Improvement in communication skills comes with practice and is intensified when the student is doing what he thinks is interesting and important. When the student becomes involved to the point where he desires to communicate effectively, the instructor's or tutor's assistance is welcomed and the student learns.

2. Science - Mathematics

The typical Upward Bound student is often inadequately prepared in science and mathematics. He has a negative attitude toward these courses and usually has chosen not to take the fundamental courses required for college entrance.

For those students returning to high school, mathematics and science instruction was made available to assist them in the courses they would be taking in the fall. For the bridge students, those high school graduates preparing to enter college, specific courses in physical science and mathematics were offered to prepare them for the demands of their required college courses.

F. Guidance and Counseling

The success of this particular program is attributable, in large measure, to the four professional counselers who are available full time during the summer and part time during the academic year. They are assisted by Upward Bound bridge students and Upward Bound "graduates" already enrolled in college. Because of the availability of counselors, frequent individual, as well as group, sessions can be held.

Small group counseling sessions provide an excellent opportunity for the student to view himself in the mirror of peer reflection. Peer support and the pressure of peer expectations have been major contributions of group counseling to the total project.

At these sessions the counselor discusses such topics as:

1. How to take tests and what they mean
2. How to visit a college
3. How to fill out a college application
4. Financial aid applications
5. The personal interview and YOU
6. Choosing a college freshman schedule
7. Career possibilities

He also coordinates meetings at which college admissions and financial aid officers make presentations.

Emphasis is placed on individual counseling, information on guidance classes, and the collection of diagnostic data with feedback to the student and staff.

During the academic year the students' multiple problems are usually more evident and the goals and changes made during the summer are directly challenged. The students need to call on their ongoing relationship with their informed and objective counselors. They provide help in dealing with such problems as choosing different friends, interpreting new ideas and plans to friends, teachers, or parents, applying themselves to achieve goals, and following up on college applications, admissions tests, and personal interviews.

The Upward Bound counselor, while stressing the individual student's understanding of and belief in himself, also serves as a consultant to the total high school staff concerning his particular students. He assists in:

1. post-high school placements of students as well as referrals of students to appropriate community agencies;
2. the establishment of ongoing working relationships with secondary school personnel;
3. organizing college nights, college trips, field trips, and other student activities.

G. The Summer Program

The summer instructional program centers around two unique organizational structures that help to provide small group as well as individualized instruction--the "House," and the "Learning Laboratory."

Within the program, students are divided into six large groups known as Houses. In each House of approximately 40 students, a team of three instructors and one counselor provides instruction centering on communication skills. The House unit fosters close relationship between staff--instructors, counselor, residence counselor-tutor, community aide--and the individual student.

Prior to the beginning of the summer program, each student is helped to appraise his present status in various subject matter areas. Through a unique system of "learning laboratories," each student is allowed to progress at his own individual speed within each of these laboratory groups.

A representative list of learning laboratories follows:

English and Literature	5 Labs
Science	3 Labs
Math	2 Labs
Reading	4 Labs
Elective Areas	4 Labs

Individualized instructional materials are provided so that students may progress at their own rate. Thus, one student may complete the curriculum content of a particular laboratory in one week, while another student may take two to three weeks to complete this same material. When the individual student has completed the material, he may go on to the next level. In this way, students are allowed the opportunity to increase their competencies as rapidly as they desire. Students evaluate their progress in each of the laboratories in weekly conferences with the House staff, thus providing an opportunity for frequent reassignment to a learning level commensurate with their increasing knowledge.

A further feature of the program is the selection of bi-weekly themes around which activities are organized. For example, using the theme, "The Challenge of Change," the staff and students discussed possible areas of study and activities that could be developed. Together they planned to take a tour of the inner city to see real evidence of change, and the potential of change to come. Instructors supplied information about the change in their particular subject matter fields. Counselors added data on occupational and social changes and referred students to library reference materials. The group decided to invite an educational sociologist to present his views on change both in the present and in the future. Pictures were taken by students attempting to show "changes." These, in turn, were presented at an assembly along with "on-the-spot" recordings of their reactions and the reactions of others.

This extra-curricular program helped to provide students with further opportunities to make individual progress in developing competency in various areas. Activities such as a newspaper, debating club, drama group, chess club, international affairs group, music club, great books club, math club, etc., serve both to complement and supplement the daily instructional program.

The organizational structure of this "model" Upward Bound summer program has been devised to provide more opportunity for:

1. emphasis on each individual student and a close relationship with him as a person;
2. closer team work between the instructor and the counselor in meeting the needs of each participant;
3. team teaching;
4. field trips in small groups instead of the total group;

5. student involvement in planning activities;

6. communication between staff and students.

Allocation of student time in a typical week of the Upward Bound summer program is described in Table 1, page 48.

H. Bridge Student Program

The summer program for bridge students combines regular Upward Bound activities with attendance in college classes at local universities. Some bridge students are not ready for college-level work and need a precollege program designed to provide them with the skills necessary to begin college in the fall.

Preceding the summer program, Upward Bound counselors work with bridge students to develop the summer program they wish to follow. A maximum of two college-level courses are planned and those bridge students who seem prepared take one or both courses along with their other Upward Bound activities. They are also offered special seminar work and individual tutoring. This group belongs to a House unit staffed with instructors and tutors able to assist them in meeting the course requirements successfully, and with a counselor familiar with problems of freshman college adjustment.

Another House unit is staffed with instructors, tutors, and a counselor to meet the precollege needs of bridge students who are enrolled in a curriculum designed to improve their preparation for the beginning college freshman course requirements. English, social science, speech, physical science, reading, and study skill areas make up the major academic areas in this unit.

Former Upward Bound students who have completed the first year of college are used as tutors in both bridge Houses, providing assistance and a host of peer information about college requirements and personal experiences.

I. The Academic Year Program

Experience in this superior project suggests that crucial emphasis must be placed on the academic year program. If the summer program has truly affected students, the academic year program must continue this emphasis on motivation and must assist students to face real achievement problems. During the academic year, Upward Bound attempts to provide continued growth. Participants are required to take part in planned activities on a regular basis.

Table 1

Typical Week - Summer Program

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
A. M.	8:30 - 10:00 House assembly Discuss plans for the week. 10:00 - 12:00 Classes	8:30 - 10:00 House Meetings Large and small group meetings 10:00 - 12:00 Classes	8:30 - 10:30 Classes 10:30 - 12:00 Special Interest Groups 1. UB Newspaper 2. Drama Club 3. Debate Club 4. Music Club 5. International Affairs	8:30 - 10:00 House Meetings Group Guidance Group Planning 10:00 - 12:00 Classes	8:30 - 10:10 Classes 10:30 - 12:00 Student Assembly
P. M.	1:00 - 3:00 Learning Labs 1. Math 2. Science 3. Languages 4. Literature 3:00 - 5:00 Free Time	1:30 - 5:00 House Field Trips Selected by students and instructors	1:00 - 3:00 Learning Labs 1. Math 2. Science 3. Languages 4. Literature 3:00 - 4:30 Individual Tutoring and Study	1:00 - 2:30 Classes 2:30 - 5:00 Weekly Staff Meeting ------------ Students go to Physical Education Complex Swimming, Tennis Volleyball	1:00 - 3:00 Learning Labs 1. Math 2. Science 3. Languages 4. Literature 3:00 - 5:00 Individual Counseling Study Time.

Evening-Student Government, Tutoring, Recreational Activities, In-Town Movies, On-Campus Cultural Activities such as band concerts, plays, etc.

Within the metropolitan area, a number of community facilities are readily available to Upward Bound students for use as study centers. Students are assigned to a location as close to their home and school as possible. Study centers are now operating in a settlement house, a public high school, the Upward Bound main office, and in facilities made available by a local university.

Instructors, counselors, and tutors in specialized areas are assigned to each center to provide for the needs of the individual student. Personnel selected to man these positions are those who have had contact with the students during the summer phase, thus providing continuing personal contact.

The Upward Bound student needs a continued emphasis upon the development of basic skills and academic competencies. Thus, students are required to spend four hours per week at a study center. The time is planned as follows:

1. Skill building - 1 hour

   One hour of classroom instruction which attempts to provide continuity with the language arts aspects of the summer program. The classes are formed at the request of the students or study center coordinator to work on specific assignments or problems.

2. Tutoring - 1 hour

   Tutors within the program are selected on the basis of a wide range of skills, interests, and competencies. These instructors work in the areas of English, social studies, mathematics, and science. Specialists in each field are available to any student who expresses a need or who could benefit from such assistance.

3. Counseling and Guidance - 1 hour

   One of the four hours is earmarked for counseling and guidance services. The student's individual program is scheduled to allow for group counseling sessions. Individual appointments are made as the need arises.

4. Individualized study - 1 hour

   The study centers are open four nights each week for four hours per night. Each student may spend as much time in the center as he desires beyond the four hours required. Many choose to come each day for two or three hours to seek assistance with their regular school homework.

The Student Advisory Committee, made up of two elected members from each study center plans one activity each month for all program participants. These dances, basketball games, lectures, cultural activities and overnight camping trips are regarded by students and staff as an important factor in maintaining the motivational spirit of the summer program.

J. Placement After High School

An important element in the success of this program is the sincere cooperation shown by nearby colleges and universities. One university has a blanket policy of offering admission to all Upward Bound students who complete the program. Another university has developed a new curricular and counseling program designed to meet the special needs of Upward Bound students.

Contacts and relationships have been established with the universities, and the counseling staff is continually informing students of the specific opportunities available at each institution. Students and staff participate in college nights, presentations by financial aid officers, college visitations, and educational career days.

The assistant director spends much of his time visiting admissions and financial aid officers of neighboring colleges and universities to describe the local Upward Bound program and to discuss individual students. This kind of extra personalized touch is one of the many reasons that this program has maximized its potential and its service to student participants.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of this study, Upward Bound has had impact in some areas and none or inadequate impact in others. In order to maximize the positive influence of this program in as many areas as possible, it is recommended that:

1. The Upward Bound program should be funded on a larger scale to provide additional opportunities for participation by disadvantaged youngsters.

In one central city high school enrolling 2,700 students, the principal reported that 75 percent of the students in his school could qualify for the program. In another, with an enrollment of approximately 2,500, a counselor estimated that 50 percent of the students could qualify.

2. The program should be expanded to provide supportive services for students during their first year of college. Where possible, cooperative arrangements should be made so that all colleges that have Upward Bound programs would provide supportive services to all Upward Bound freshmen including those from programs in other communities.

3. Immediate steps should be taken by the national office to establish monitoring systems to discourage selection of Upward Bound participants from among the better-motivated, higher-achieving members of the student body.

In a number of instances, evidence of this "creaming" was observed, and it was noted that it often takes place without the consent or knowledge of the local Upward Bound staff. Some principals will not permit the names of students to be submitted to the Upward Bound program unless they are students who have distinguished themselves academically at the school. Teachers admitted that these students were already highly motivated and in all probability would go on to college without the assistance of Upward Bound. This is certainly contrary to the emphasis within the program which seeks underachievers whose skill level and motivation would normally preclude participation in any higher-education experience.

4. Immediate steps should be taken by the national office to bring the operation of local programs more in line with the Guidelines.

Although the Guidelines call for a "sizeable cluster of students" from a single school, this study team found that, in many of the programs visited over 75 percent of the cooperating high schools were sending from one to three students to the program.

The Guidelines also state that the "administration of the project be vested in a substantially full-time professional person during the academic year phase." Yet there were repeated examples where the administrator was carrying a full teaching load during the school year and devoting all of his time only during the summer.

5. There is an immediate need for the development of effective input and feedback systems between local Upward Bound staff and secondary school personnel. A significant finding of this study is the absence of meaningful communication, especially between teachers in the summer Upward Bound program and in the regular high school.

It is proposed that two meetings be held to provide teachers with an opportunity to exchange pertinent data on secondary school and summer experiences in the areas of curriculum and of the needs of the individual students.

A presummer meeting should be scheduled to allow high school personnel to make suggestions for the summer program. The purpose of this meeting would be to review specific subject areas and give the Upward Bound teachers a more complete understanding of what has been taught in the high school. At this same meeting, counselors from the high schools and the summer program would have an opportunity to review students' strengths and weaknesses and to develop tentative student schedules for the summer.

Following the summer program, a second meeting would have an input as well as a feedback effect. Faculty members from the summer Upward Bound program would be able to suggest curriculum adjustments in the high school while reporting on the activities and subject matter covered during the summer. There would also be an opportunity at this meeting for the counselors to review student progress so that high school personnel could make appropriate adjustments in the students' fall schedules.

6. In order to encourage stronger relationships between the school personnel and the Upward Bound staff, it is recommended that future Guidelines urge the inclusion of at least one high school principal and a member of the local Board of Education on each Public Advisory Committee

7. Steps should be taken to define the responsibilities of Public Advisory Committees more clearly.

In a number of cases, it was felt by project directors and community leaders that the Guidelines were too vague in discussing the limitations of PAC activity. This has caused confusion in certain local situations and has led to strained relations between some project directors and their PACs.

For some of the functions listed in Guidelines specific implementation should be detailed. For example, PACs are called on to "assume a degree of responsibility for communicating with parents and encouraging their participation in the program." What degree? Does this mean that PAC members should go before local neighborhood groups as speakers? Should the PAC initiate its own press releases?

The general feeling from discussions with project leaders was that the Guidelines did not restrict PAC activity and that project directors often find it difficult to set limits on their involvement.

8. A vigorous public relations campaign needs to be mounted by project directors nationally. There were many instances where obvious opportunities for publicity were overlooked. Upward Bound personnel need to become better informed as to the various communications resources available in the community. The only media relationship some directors had was with the daily newspapers.

9. The role of the project director should be redefined to emphasize the potential for leadership both in the education of the disadvantaged and in the community at large.

In addition to qualifications stated in the Guidelines, special attention should be given to the degree of commitment the project director has demonstrated, his knowledge of the dynamics of this specialized education, and his respect for the worth of the individual students. He must be encouraged to become a dynamic force in improving educational opportunities.

The Guidelines should be expanded to include a clear statement of the program director's responsibilities in public relations. His knowledge of the community and how it is organized, formally and informally, is crucial. In some communities, directors had personal contact only with community action representatives, and completely ignored other important leaders.

Project directors also need to develop a better understanding of the operation of the secondary schools. In order to exercise any influence on the local high school and to enjoy the trust and respect of the cooperating administrators, he will have to develop a working knowledge of the problems of curriculum development, student scheduling, etc.

10. A training program for project directors should be established on a regional basis, to promote the development of skills and techniques in mobilizing community resources to expand educational opportunities for the disadvantaged. The program should also give the director a greater depth of understanding regarding the operation of the secondary schools and should help him to clarify his own statement on the philosophy of Upward Bound.

APPENDIX

HIGH SCHOOLS WHICH RESPONDED TO MAILED QUESTIONNAIRE

Alabama

Murphy High School (Mobile)
Druid High School (Tuscaloosa)

Alaska

Nome High School (Nome)

Arkansas

Amity High School (Amity)
Lewisville High School (Lewisville)

California

Central Valley High School (Central Valley)
McKinleyville High School (McKinleyville)
Redlands High School (Redlands)
Sherman Institute (San Bernardino)
Mission High School (San Francisco)

Colorado

West High School (Denver)
Ignacio High School (Ignacio)
Centennial High School (Pueblo)

Connecticut

Danbury High School (Danbury)

Delaware

Howard High School (Wilmington)

Florida

Miami Jackson High School (Miami)

Georgia

Brown High School (Atlanta)
Carver Vocational High School (Atlanta)
Lucy Laney High School (Augusta)
Ballard-Hudson High School (Macon)

Hawaii

Farrington High School (Honolulu)

Illinois

Flower Vocational High School (Chicago)
Harrison High School (Chicago)
Wells High School (Chicago)
Lincoln High School (East St. Louis)

Indiana

Richmond High School (Richmond)
Washington High School (South Bend)

Iowa

Jefferson High School (Cedar Rapids)
Central High School (Davenport)
Des Moines Technical High School (Des Moines)
Ottumwa High School (Ottumwa)

Kansas

Wichita High School East (Wichita)

Kentucky

James Cawood High School (Harlan)
Henry Clay High School (Lexington)

Maine

Lewiston High School (Lewiston)
Katahdin High School (Sherman Station)

Massachusetts

Pioneer Valley Regional High School (Northfield)

Michigan

Covert High School (Covert)
Ottawa High School (Grand Rapids)
Lansing Eastern High School (Lansing)
Sault Sainte Marie High School (Sault Sainte Marie)

Minnesota

Central High School (Minneapolis)

Mississippi

Holy Child Jesus High School (Canton)

Montana

Browning High School (Browning)

Nevada

White Pine High School (Ely)

New Jersey

Lincoln High School (Jersey City)

New Mexicc

Albuquerque High School (Albuquerque)
Espanola High School (Espanola)

New York

Freeport High School (Freeport)
Longwood High School (Middle Island)
New Rochelle High School (New Rochelle)
Poughkeepsie High School (Poughkeepsie)
Mount Pleasant High School (Schenectady)
Utica Free Academy (Utica)

North Carolina

Central High School (Hillsborough)
Atkins High School (Winston Salem)

Ohio

North High School (Akron)
Steubenville High School (Steubenville)
Chamberlin High School (Twinsburg)

Oklahoma

Carnegie High School (Carnegie)
Hartshorne High School (Hartshorne)
Shawnee High School (Shawnee)

Oregon

Forest Grove High School (Forest Grove)
Madras High School (Madras)

Pennsylvania

Chester High School (Chester)
Coudersport High School (Coudersport)
Bishop Carroll High School (Ebensburg)
East High School (Erie)
William Penn High School (Harrisburg)
Benjamin Franklin High School (Philadelphia)
Thomas Edison High School (Philadelphia)

Rhode Island

Hope High School (Providence)

South Carolina

Hillside High School (Heath Springs)
Wilkinson High School (Orangeburg)

South Dakota

Holy Rosary High School (Pine Ridge)

Tennessee

Carver High School (Brownsville)
Austin-East High School (Knoxville)
Booker T. Washington High School (Memphis)
Morristown High School (Morristown)
Central High School (Shelbyville)

Texas

Anderson High School (Austin)
C. R. Crozier Technical High School (Dallas)
Yates High School (Houston)
Martin High School (Laredo)

Utah

South High School (Salt Lake City)

Vermont

Enosburg Falls High School (Enosburg Falls)
St. Johnsbury High School - Trade (St. Johnsbury)

Virginia

Floyd County High School (Floyd)
Booker T. Washington High School (Norfolk)

Washington

Garfield High School (Seattle)
Ferris High School (Spokane)
Lincoln High School (Tacoma)

West Virginia

Montgomery High School (Montgomery)

Wisconsin

Hayward High School (Hayward)
Shawano High School (Shawano)